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shells, battleships and frowning fortresses — is the vainest possible instrument of a nation's security and glory. Some other of the so-called great powers would do well to open their eyes wide and take in, from her example, the full significance of the lesson.

The second thing which seems clear is that the movement for the investing of the people of Russia with their political rights, and with civil and religious liberty, is gaining rapidly in volume and strength. It gets nearer and nearer the throne with every fresh wave. Exile to Siberia for political offenses has been abolished. Freedom of religion, in name at least, has been proclaimed throughout the empire. The Zempstvo delegates from the provinces have had their hearing. The workingmen have been allowed an audience with the Czar. A number of the newspapers dare now to say what they think. Meetings of those interested in reform are held with much less difficulty than formerly. Protests against the war in the East are openly made in the very capital itself. On the 27th of December at a banquet of the Liberals in St. Petersburg, by a vote of seven hundred and sixty-six to seven, the following resolution was adopted:

"In view of the horrors of war, which is devoid of sense, and in view of the enormous sacrifices and ruin in which the country is being involved, we, representing both the liberal professions and the working classes, protest against the war into which the government has dragged the nation without consideration for the opinions and interests of the Russian people, and we express our profound belief that only the nation itself can save Russia from her difficulties through the free representation of the people elected by secret ballot on the principle of equal rights. Our mottoes are 'Peace' and 'Freedom.'"

Even if, as is said, there is a good deal of pretense in the manner in which the government has received the representatives of the workingmen and of the Provincial Councils, it has received them; that is the capital thing. It will receive them again, in spite of the Cossacks and the Grand Dukes. The substance will follow on quickly after the shadow. The people have found their voice and their courage, and they can never again be forced into silence till they have obtained their rights. A people, bodies of whom will, in order to obtain a hearing, march unarmed and in silence into the face of a deadly rifle fire, as was done the other day at St. Petersburg, can accomplish anything that ought to be accomplished. They can do it without bombs, by the sheer force of the justice of their cause. They can do it in that way more quickly and with less sacrifice than by violence, if they only have the faith and the heroism to persist in the pacific course.

The revolution in Russia, however much it may be checked or temporarily thwarted, is in actual progress. It depends very much upon the government

what its character will turn out to be. If the method of violence and merciless repulsion of the people by brute force is continued, nothing but a sanguinary outcome can be expected. But if the government reads aright the signs of the times, and acts in a reasonable and concessive manner, as we sincerely hope it may do, the revolution may be carried through in a pacific way, constitutional government secured to the people, and an appalling cataclysm avoided.

The Russian people is essentially a great people, full of the love of liberty and order, and eminently pacific in disposition. Civilization has large things to expect from them, and we hope to see them speedily relieved from the enormous burdens which they are now bearing at the hands of the bureaucratic military oligarchy.

### **The San Domingo Financial Agreement.**

A good deal of commotion has been raised not only in Washington, but throughout the country, over the signing by our government, through its agents on the spot, of a protocol by the terms of which the management of the finances of the Republic of San Domingo, both foreign and domestic, passes into the hands of the United States. The statement sent out by First Assistant Secretary of State Loomis seemed to imply that the arrangement had been completed by the President and was to go into effect on the first of this month, impliedly without the knowledge and action of the Senate.

It was this aspect of the case that alarmed the country and aroused the indignation of the Senate. The document that has reached this country from San Domingo purporting to be the text of the protocol signed by the agents of the two governments, and said to have been given out by the San Domingo authorities, gives color to what was said as to the President's purpose. It contains no suggestion as to ratification by the Senate, and no period of years is given during which the agreement was to run. Further color was given to the theory that the President meant to do the thing without consulting anybody by the persistent reports that the agreement had gone into effect on the first day of this month, and that the custom houses of San Domingo had been taken in charge by agents of the United States.

If it had been the intention of the President to complete an arrangement of such momentous and far-reaching import as this without the knowledge of the country and the advice and consent of the Senate, Mr. Roosevelt would have deserved all the reprobation that was heaped upon him upon the supposition that this was what he had actually done. But the story seemed to us too extraordinary to be true, notwithstanding the extraordinary things done by the government within the last eight years. Subsequent

developments have shown that a good deal was read into the situation that was not in it. The State Department has declared both publicly and privately that there was no intention of consummating the arrangement in a clandestine way and without its taking the usual course in the Senate, and that the protocol would be sent to the Senate as soon as the official copy reached Washington. It has also been explicitly denied from San Domingo that the alleged arrangement had gone into effect on the first day of this month.

The trouble seems to have arisen primarily from the fact that the agreement was made and signed in San Domingo and not in Washington, and that considerable time was necessary for the official copy to reach this country. That gave opportunity for all sorts of perverted interpretations to get abroad through the press, which, it seems, can rarely resist the temptation to exploit any sort of reports that will arouse excitement. The character of the protocol that has been given out from San Domingo, which is probably substantially correct, also indicates that the gentlemen who drafted it did not understand diplomatic processes well enough to be entrusted with such negotiations.

As to the advisability of an arrangement with San Domingo by which, at the request of that republic, our government shall assume control of her finances in order to help her out of the straits into which she has fallen, that is a very large question, and, it must be confessed, also a two-sided question. On general principles, that one government should in a large and generous spirit help another out of financial difficulties would seem to be just as proper, and under certain conditions as obligatory, as for one individual to come to the rescue of another. This is often done in common life. Why should not nations also come to a level of goodwill and unselfish benevolence where the same thing might occur in a natural way without arousing suspicion of sinister motives?

But if, on the other hand, assuming control of the finances of a bankrupt government means the inauguration of a policy which will almost inevitably involve the necessity of a general protectorate for an indefinite period of time; if it makes practically certain the extension of the same sort of control and protectorate to a dozen other financially stranded states; if it is sure to encourage creditors who have in the spirit of greed taken senseless and reckless risks to insist that the helping government shall see that all their claims are met; if, further, the assuming of financial protectorates over such states cannot well fail to lead straight to the loss of their independence and to their ultimate annexation, with all that that means of injury to the cause of political freedom, then it is clear that the government ought to keep entirely out of the business.

We do not say that our government ought not to

help San Domingo, at the latter's request, through her financial troubles. If this can be done in a safe freedom-respecting way, it will be vastly better than to have the European governments collect the debts of their citizens by violence, as they were proceeding to do in the case of Venezuela. But any arrangement for this service ought to stipulate specifically that the independence and autonomy of the republic shall never be impaired; that the agreement shall run for a limited number of years; that it shall not be considered in any way a precedent to be followed in the case of other countries; and that all claims of the citizens of foreign countries against the government of San Domingo shall be arbitrated, to determine their just amount, before payment of them is begun. This last matter is of the very highest importance, as the history of such claims proves that only about twenty per cent. of the amounts demanded are as a rule legitimate. A specification of this kind in any agreement made would be an effective check upon European governments which might wish to make the United States the tool of their greed.

It seems to us that an arrangement of this kind might be made by our government with San Domingo which would prove to be a most effective instrument of peace and friendly relations and at the same time by its indirect influence promote a better economic order among several of the republics south of us.

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### Editorial Notes.

#### Funds for the Year's Work.

The members and friends of the American Peace Society are again kindly reminded that their contributions for the work of the Society the present year will be most gratefully received. The opportunity for extended and effective effort in advancing the principles for which the Society has so long labored has never been so favorable as now. The past year has been one of most encouraging progress, as indicated by the signing of the numerous arbitration treaties, the unusual success of the Peace Congress and other international gatherings, the call for a new Conference at The Hague, etc. Public opinion is undergoing a rapid change in its attitude towards war, and multitudes of men and women are now open to light and conviction on the subject who have not hitherto been inclined to listen to its claims. With a little faithful effort many of these can be brought into the peace ranks and the movement thereby greatly strengthened and enlarged. Increasing demands are made upon the Society's office for literature and information in regard to the different aspects of the cause. To respond properly to all these growing demands, to continue to promote arbitration, the further development of the Hague Court, the creation of a regular international congress, the reduction of arma-